

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00093 081447Z

44

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /031 W

----- 039728

P 081415Z OCT 74

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2327

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0093

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 8

(SALT TWO - 458)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF OCTOBER 8, 1974. QUOTE:

MR. MINISTER:

I

IN THE COURSE OF OUR RECENT MEETINGS I HAVE SET FORTH U.S.
VIEWS AS TO THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF A FRAMEWORK FOR AN AGREEMENT
TO LIMIT STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS OVER THE PERIOD UNTIL 1985.
TODAY I WILL FURTHER DISCUSS SOME OF THE CONCEPTS WHICH UNDERLIE
THE DESIRE OF THE UNITED STATES TO ACHIEVE SUCH AN AGREEMENT,
AND PRESENT SOME ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS WHICH WE BELIEVE ARE
IMPORTANT AT THIS STAGE TO SET SUCH A GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR
AGREEMENT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00093 081447Z

II

IN PAST STATEMENTS WE HAVE REFERRED TO OUR CONVICTION THAT A NEW AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SHOULD BE ONE THAT IS MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BOTH IN TERMS OF ITS REALITY OR SUBSTANCE AND IN TERMS OF PERCEPTION. ANY AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS MUST BE ASSESSED FROM BOTH STANDPOINTS--THAT IS, IT MUST BE ASSESSED FOR BOTH ITS SECURITY AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

TWO OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CRITERIA IN MAKING SUCH AN ASSESSMENT ARE THE ISSUES OF, FIRST, WHETHER THE AGREEMENT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN THE LONG-TERM STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND, SECONDLY, WHETHER IN TIME OF CRISIS IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO A STABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES.

THUS, WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT STABILITY IN TWO RELATED BUT DIFFERENT SENSES. AS I HAVE INDICATED, THE FIRST IS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR MUTUALLY EXPRESSED DESIRE TO LIMIT THE ARMS COMPETITION BETWEEN US. THIS KIND OF STABILITY COULD BE DESCRIBED AS THE MAINTENANCE OF STRATEGIC FORCE RELATIONSHIPS UNDER WHICH NEITHER SIDE SEES A NECESSITY TO INCREASE ITS STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCE CAPABILITIES IN ORDER TO AVOID BEING PLACED AT A STRATEGIC DISADVANTAGE. AS I MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY, UNCERTAINTY AS TO THE FUTURE FORCE CAPABILITIES OF THE OTHER SIDE HAS SERVED TO STIMULATE THE EXPANSION OF STRATEGIC ARMS TO THE SUBSTANTIAL LEVELS WHICH CURRENTLY EXIST. OBVIOUSLY, IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST TO REDUCE THAT UNCERTAINTY AND THE ROLE THAT IT PLAYS IN THE EXPANSION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

THE SECOND ASPECT OF STABILITY IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE NEED TO MAINTAIN A STABLE RELATIONSHIP IN TIME OF CRISIS. THIS "CRISIS STABILITY" COULD BE DANGEROUSLY ERODED IF ONE SIDE WERE TO HAVE--OR, EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WERE PERCEIVED TO HAVE--A CAPABILITY FOR EFFECTIVE ATTACK ON THE DETERRENT FORCES OF THE OTHER SIDE. ON THE OTHER HAND, STABILITY IN THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP IS ENHANCED IF IN A TIME OF CRISIS EACH SIDE POSSESSES AND IS SEEN TO POSSESS SUFFICIENT SECURE AND SURVIVABLE STRATEGIC FORCES THAT NO INCENTIVE EXISTS TO INITIATE THE USE OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00093 081447Z

THEREFORE, MR. MINISTER, THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BE COMMITTED TO AN AGREEMENT WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY IN BOTH SENSES--THAT IS, AN AGREEMENT WHICH WILL REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES OVER THE LONG-TERM STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND ONE WHICH WILL ALSO REDUCE THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR AND CONTRIBUTE TO A STABLE RELATIONSHIP IN A TIME OF CRISIS.

III

IT IS IN PURSUANCE OF THAT COMMITMENT, MR. MINISTER, AND IN ORDER TO MOVE TOWARD THESE GOALS, THAT I DESIRE TO STATE THAT THE LEVEL AND COMPOSITION OF U.S. FORCES--INCLUDING NEW SYSTEMS--CAN BE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION, ASSUMING THAT CURRENT AND PROSPECTIVE SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES COULD ALSO BE SUBJECT TO AGREED LIMITS. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE U.S. BELIEVES THAT ANY NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT CODIFY THE EXISTIN AND PROJECTED STRATEGIC PROGRAMS OF THE TWO SIDES. RATHER, A NEW AGREEMENT MUST CONSTRAIN THE PACE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF BOTH QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS.

SUCH CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE SO DESIGNED AS TO ASSIST IN MAINTAINING A STABLE BALANCE BETWEEN THE STRATEGIC FORCES OF THE TWO SIDES IN BOTH OF THE SENSES THAT I HAVE DISCUSSED. PROPERLY DESIGNED, THESE CONSTRAINTS CAN HELP TO MAINTAIN THE STABILITY OF THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN TIMES OF CRISIS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CAN SERVE TO MODERATE ARMS COMPETITION AND REDUCE UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE FUTURE FORCE CAPABILITIES OF THE TWO SIDES. IN THIS REGARD, THE U.S. SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLE OF AGREED MUTUAL AND EQUITABLE RESTRAINT IN THE MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS.

IV

MR. MINISTER, I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THE SOVIET VIEWS ON THESE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS. UNQUOTE:JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY AIRCRAFT, AGREEMENTS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SALT TWO 458
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974SALTT00093
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740285-0310
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741063/aaaaccad.tel
Line Count: 143
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 MAY 2002 by garlanwa>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 8 (SALT TWO - 458)
TAGS: PARM
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005